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FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

VOL. Xb. NO. 1. CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 3, 1904. WHOLE NO. 447.

### Love's Triumph.

I mused on love, the pure harmonious sense,
Its deeper meanings brightened o'er my soul
And thrilled me with the ecstacy of Hope,
The harbinger of Light and Joy on earth.
A new life dawned upon my inward eyes;
And men appeared no longer monster-like,
But things of reason, beauty, harmony.
The deadly nationality
Was shortly raged from out the human breast,
And envy, spite and rancorous jealousy—
All demons that enthrall the mind of man,
Were swept and scattered by the light of Love.
One chain of kindred feeling linked mankind,
And what the poets dreamt of, came to pass.
I stood upon a lofty pinnacle
And watched the evolution to its goal.
No longer hateful passions shook the breast,
For Love was throned and wore the diadem.

—J. M. Brown, in *Freedom*, London.

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### The Essence of Anarchism.

The essential characteristics of Anarchism, i.e., those peculiarities which differentiate it from all other social theories or philosophies, will form the subject of this article; it is not, therefore, a compendious definition of Anarchism which will here be attempted. Such definitions—terse, comprehensive, and clear—are already before the world, and can be still further condensed into one word—Liberty.

A clear definition is necessary for the inculcation of any idea, and for the grouping of persons in its defense and for its diffusion; it is necessary to have such a definition at hand as a touchstone and guide whereby to judge the ideas, measures, and methods which may be presented to us; and it is by comparison with such an accepted definition of our principles that we may most readily decide as to how far a particular act or mode of action is in accordance with our ideal, and how far we can, without any sacrifice of consistency, cooperate with outside persons or parties. Socialism has suffered a great contraction of its aims, a great adulteration of its principles, and a great weakening of its once revolutionary vigor precisely thru neglecting to insist upon and reiterate a complete definition of Socialism, and what is expected of those to whom the title of Socialist is extended. This neglect may be attributed to an excessive anxiety to increase the number of nominal adherents and to giving way to the temptation to gain recruits by lowering the standard of ideas offered for their acceptance, thus winning adhesion to the name of "Socialism" at the expense of Socialism—*the thing*. Hence a very large proportion of the various Socialist parties is made up of men who have no real title to be regarded as anything more than reformers. Nevertheless definitions, tho absolutely necessary for the coherence of a party, and for protecting its principles from dilution or evaporation, are not sufficient for propaganda purposes. People being as a rule too lazy to take up a compendious statement and, after applying it to the multifarious phases and concerns of life, deduce a logical judgment as to its validity as a rule of conduct and as an expression of truth. Such persons can more readily learn the superiority of libertarian methods by a comparison of Anarchist Communism with other schools of Socialism, and certainly the divergencies are of a very far-reaching nature.

One distinctive peculiarity of Anarchist Communism is that it has no bait to offer the man who is seeking "to rise in the world"; it has no billets in its gift. Moreover, it has no grades of preferment, no edicts, pontiffs, deputies, nor officials of any kind; for all men it has but one inducement—Freedom, but one position—that of workers for the great end, the Social Revolution with its transfigured world and its transformed humanity. This inability of Anarchism to satisfy the vulgar ambitions which principally induce men of intelligence and energy to take an active part in other movements—ecclesiastical, political, and social—naturally limits the number willing to come forward to face obloquy and enmity in its defense, but it at the same time marks their disinterestedness and honesty, personal qualifications which are no mean supports to any cause, and which command at least the respect of even enemies.

If, however, Anarchism has no bribe to offer in the way of superior power or position, and so proves insipid to the taste of the masterful and arrogant, it enjoys the very compensatory qualification of inflicting no humiliation or subordination on its modest and least assertive partisans, who are now during the period of conflict, as they will be in the emancipated society of the future, comrades owning no master but performing their labor of love in their own fashion, as they feel their circumstances and abilities permit or their enthusiasm impel. There is no party discipline to which the Anarchist must submit, it suffices for him to admit the principles of his ideal—individual liberty of action, the regulation by each of his own life and personal development, free association with his fellows in accordance with his own tastes, sympathies and affinities, and recognition of the communistic declaration that the wealth of the world belongs by right to all, each individual having the right to share the use of it according to his needs and aptitudes.

Party discipline is doubtless a very useful educational instrument in the hands of those who seek to build up the social democratic State, preparing the minds of their adherents for that ready submission to authority which is essential to their scheme, and which must be made habitual in each and all of those who will be required to work with promptitude, regularity, and exactitude as dependent portions of one vast over-ruling social mechanism. Anarchism has no use for such discipline, which would, indeed, be fatal to its purpose of forming independent, self-reliant characters, befitting free men in a free society.

The man who maintains the necessity of government and coercive authority does not contemplate the desirability of being himself compelled to do that which is repugnant to his inclinations, or restrained from doing what he thinks right and proper, but has in view the coercion or restraint of others, presumably that they may be forced to act as he thinks they ought, or to refrain from whatever does not suit his fancy. What a ridiculous conception of elementary justice is here revealed! Yet such is the meddlesome and intolerant spirit inherited thru many successive generations of legal interference with individual conduct, that at every turn we are in presence of a perverted sentiment, which leads men to abandon the safeguard of their own liberties and to invest rulers with powers which will assuredly be sooner or later used against themselves rather than forego the satisfaction of seeing others worried and hampered because they differ in their choice of a line of conduct and cannot see eye to eye with their intolerant critics. Anarchism grates upon the feelings of these busybodies, who must be expected to continue to oppose its advocacy of freedom, while those persons on the other hand who love freedom well enough to extend it to others, and who wisely recognize a guarantee for their own liberties in that extension may be trusted to become fervid adherents of Anarchism so soon as it shall have been fully comprehended by them. It is our work to help them to gain this comprehension.

Looked at from a practical point of view the methods of Anarchist Communism contrast most favorably with the program of

parliamentary Socialism. The latter proposes to gain power by winning the voting majority over to its cause, and in so doing gives itself the task of Sisyphus rolling a weight up hill only to see it fall back at the critical moment, for there is a notorious tendency on the part of a large section of the population to transfer at alternate intervals its support from the party which it has helped into power and to give that support to the opposite side. Electoral politics may well be likened to the game of seesaw, the fickle crowd of individuals who are serious in nothing and have no settled convictions respecting political matters—these persons really have the balance of voting power in their hands, and after they have seen one party hold the reins for a while, grow tired of their idol, and eager to give, as they say, "the other side a turn." If these people keep up a constant ebb and flow in politics between liberal and conservative or between old-fashioned liberal and more up-to-date radical, when is Socialism going to have a chance at the poll? And supposing, for the sake of argument, that under the influence of some wondrous inspiration the people did adopt Socialism by vote, how long could it be depended on to adhere to the same opinion? Judging the future from the past and present we may reasonably expect that the same frivolous and fluctuating section of the people which, as I have already said, holds the balance of voting power between men of conviction, and which will by its cooperation have contributed to the temporary success of Socialism, will not fail to undo the work at an early date. The changes which Socialism seeks to introduce require time for their realization, and, to be generally felt in their entirity, the improved conditions resulting therefrom would naturally take still longer; meanwhile the implacable enemies of social emancipation would take advantage of the transition period to arouse discontent among the thoughtless and impatient against the new venture.

But, after all, what has been just now said presupposes the extremely improbable contingency of the ruling classes ever allowing matters to progress so far; a *coup d' état* can always be invoked in time, and "saviors of society" are always ready to come to the rescue of menaced privileges and claim gratitude as restorers and champions of "order." Even were the conservative and reactionary elements to prove so incredibly supine as to allow Socialism to acquire a legal title to legislative power, the question would by no means be settled; for, to use the words of an accredited spokesman of the opponents of Socialism, Professor Flint: "The immediate effect of parliament passing into law a collectivist program would not be the establishment of collectivism but the origination of social and civil war, out of which there has always come, and must come, the repression of free parliamentary government and the substitution for it of military and absolutist government."

I do not accept the latter part of the professor's conclusion; there is no reason why a collectivist majority should not get the upper hand in a civil war, but if after all the working and waiting for political power the social revolution has nevertheless to be effected by force, why not face the eventuality instead of becoming absorbed in mere political agitation!

Anarchists do not need to wait for the conversion of the majority in order to assert their claims, and altho of course such preliminary conversion would enormously facilitate their task, they are strongly inclined to believe that it will be a consequence and satisfaction of success, not a necessary means of securing it. Whenever we have sufficient force at our disposal we shall assert our right to absolute freedom, the numerical proportion of the required active minority depending inversely upon the energy of the individuals composing it and the favoring circumstances of the moment, such as governmental weakness, administrative incapacity, military disorganization or popular discontent. Numbers, on which alone an electorial contest depends, only constitute one and that by no means the most important factor in any other kind of struggle: ten brave men can master twenty cowards, a man of conviction is worth half a dozen waverers, and a few men of intelligence can outwit the stupidity of many.

Earnestness and energy in keeping the idea to the front are what is needed to hasten the triumph of our cause.

HENRY GLASSE.

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### The Old Folly.

"When we one Sunday morning hear the old bells rumble," says Friedrich Nietzsche, "then we ask ourselves: Is it possible? This commemorates a Jew, crucified two thousand years ago, who claimed to be the son of God. The proof of his assertion is lacking. The Christian religion certainly dates back to far-off primeval times, and that its claim is still believed at all, while otherwise people have become so very severe in examining all pretentions, is perhaps the oldest piece of our inheritance. A god who begets children with a mortal woman; a teacher who invites us not to work any longer . . . but only to watch the signs of the approaching doom of the world; a justice which accepts the innocent as a substituted victim; one who commands his disciples to drink his blood; prayers to perform miracles; sins committed against a god and atoned for by a god; fear of a hereafter, the gates of which is death; the form of a cross a symbol in a time which does not know the object and infamy of the cross any more—how horribly chilling all this is, as tho rising from the grave of a primeval past! Can it be possible that anything like it is still believed?"

The folly of Christendom has, perhaps, never been more sharply characterized and scourged than by Friedrich Nietzsche in these words. They should be read again and again, especially by the women; for woman is, even the wife of a progressive toiler, in her predilection for the traditional, much inclined to cling to a religion of absurdities and contradictions, which has been inculcated in her in childhood. She is not disposed to analyze; thoughtlessly she accepts what parents and teachers offer to her. If she would arouse herself and earnestly reflect upon the essentials of Christianity, it would soon dawn upon her what perversity the thought involves, that the alleged god of love, to whom she prays in her childlike simplicity, has surrendered the whole world to sin and destruction simply because an apple was eaten, then she would feel ashamed of her superstitious belief.

The average woman of today sees in all charges against religion an attack upon something that is sacred and consecrated; but in reality these charges are directed against a rude and crude structure of lies, in which the minds are kept in a lamentable servitude and all higher aspirations are suffocated.

MARTIN DRESCHER.

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### "A Paramount Right."

Under the above heading the *Evening Telegraph* of Philadelphia writes:

How far can free thought and free speech be restricted in America by considerations for the safety of the State? Perfect freedom is the ideal we seek to realize, and liberty of speech is one of the first specific rights the people of the Republic have always demanded and maintained. That is our theory, but in practice we make certain rules and regulations necessarily confining the operation of this theory within comparatively narrow limits. The case of the English Anarchist refused admission to our shores because of the sentiments he expresses illustrates the denial of free thought and free speech by our immigration officials, acting for the government and the people. The English extremist is politically speaking a dangerous person. He preaches the overthrow of all government, the abolition of all law, and the right and duty of every human being to do exactly whatever he or she pleases. We do not want to hear that sort of talk in this country. It may be harmless, but that is not the point in consideration. It is offensive and disturbing, and we will not tolerate it. Therefore our immigration regulations provide that the Anarchistic declaimer, who cries aloud for chaos to come again, shall not be permitted to land here. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and the right of the State to defend itself against the assaults of would-be destroyers is paramount to the right of free speech.

This editorial compels me to propound a few queries. The editor declares unequivocally, that if the United States government deports John Turner, the English Anarchist and trade unionist, it would thereby display absolute disregard for the much-wanted constitutionally guaranteed right of freedom of thought and speech, yet argues in its concluding lines that, self-preservation being the first law of nature, the right of the State to defend itself against its would-be destroyers is *paramount* to "those first specific rights of the people this republic have always demanded and maintained." Now my questions are:

(1) We must, then, according to the editor, expect that the government of the United States will, at its own discretion and pleasure, interfere with the freedom of thought and speech of natives and aliens alike, and we must not show surprise, or protest?

(2) As nowadays thought is unequivocally most far-reaching and permanent in its effect and contagiousness when put on paper and circulated,—should we be prepared to preserve the same mental attitude when this government may see fit to institute here a press censorship and a system of spying, a la Russia?

(3) Is not this editorial an open admission of the Anarchists' contention, to wit: that under *all* governments freedom *of any kind* is impossible; and that the interests of

governments are, *in their very* nature, radically opposed to the rights of the people?

(4) Would it not be most advisable, then, according to this editorial, to put in one heap most of the writings which tend to undermine in the minds of the people the belief in the necessity and utility of governments in the works of Spencer, Kropotkin, Reclus, Ibsen, Nietzsche, Tolstoy, Gorki, Zola, Hugo, Shelley, Whitman, Emerson, Thoreau, Jefferson, Heine, Boerne, Robert Burns, the early poems of John Hay, and others, ad infinitum; and make a bonfire of them all, with the United States Constitution and Declaration of Independence on top? and, finally, should the United States ever have fought for their freedom (?) from England? That is to say, would they not today have had just as much or more liberty if they were still under the British monarchial government?

A. C. BRANDSCHAIN.

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### Echoes.

"History" is a superficial study of the nodding plumes on the helmets; as tho a moving picture machine had taken its photographs from a window sill just high enough to catch the plumes and the mounted officers, and occasionally the top of the head of a specially tall private. The men who do the work don't show in the pictures, nor the cause of their marching.

"The history of the world" is the history of men on horseback; the narrative of successful imposture, whether martial, ecclesiastic, political, or, as now, industrial, when current history is the biography of masterly theft, exceeding in artfulness of disguise all of its rude progenitors.—J. B. Crosby.

The Watch and Ward Society of Boston is a feeble imitation of Comstock's notorious Society for the Suppression of Vice. It is heard of chiefly in connection with opera bouffe attempts at censorship. Just now, it has undertaken the formidable contract of suppressing the world's great literary classics. Rabelais, Boccaccio and the "Heptameron" are the immediate objects of attack, with Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, Chaucer, Shakespeare and the Bible on the waiting list. The booksellers have decided to contest the matter; and a grave and reverend court will presently be called on to decide whether, among the few remaining rights of American citizens, is to be included that of selecting their own reading matter. At the rate at which things are moving, it will soon be possible to say with truth that from the earliest dawn of civilization, free speech has never been so shamefully crushed as in the "free" United States of America in the twentieth century.—*The Demonstrator.*

Bolton Hall writes to the editor of the San Francisco *Star*: "One of the speakers at the mass-meeting in behalf of John Turner, the labor agitator, who is imprisoned, awaiting the result of an appeal from a sentence of deportation as a believer in Anarchy, asked: 'Where are the editors, where are the members of the Chamber of Commerce, where are the clergymen and Mayor and Aldermen, who should be on this platform to protest against this outrage?' The question should have been: 'Where are the trades unions, the labor leaders, and the master workmen, who should be most interested to protest against this outrage? Where are they? Where have they been in the last five weeks, since the arrest of this man of their own class?' Not a soul has been heard from. With one honorable exception, they were away from that meeting, attending to their own smaller affairs, while the platform was filled and the list of vice-presidents was made up by men who are rich enough and strong enough to avoid or evade any personal oppression themselves.

"Until the workingman learns to think, and to care for the interests of his fellow man, and not merely for the interest of his trade or assembly, he will continue to suffer, and he ought to suffer, from the oppression of those like himself, but better organized; and he ought to thank God for men like Carnegie and Hanna, who have been sent into the world with strength enough to kick into him some kind of sense."

The radicalism of the country is justly noising its disapproval of the deporting of John Turner, Anarchist. No one can make too much honest clamor of that sort for me. Shake out your eagle feathers, Interrogate the government. But I am not exceptionally excited by the Turner episode. Turner is to me an instance. Not the only instance. Not the worst instance. He is a sentence in a paragraph of a chapter of a long story. I see cases just as bad as Turner's case every day. Your own case is such a case. And mine. Turner is not a single victim chosen with malignant particularity to receive the coward blows of the State. Turner is not the exception. If Turner was only the exception the cricis would not be so thorned and sered. Turner is the rule. The same economic something or other which sentences you to the industrial treadmill sent Turner to Ellis Island. It is no one man's martyrdom. Helen Williams indicted in Florida. John Turner jailed in New York. These are convenient names and convenient incidents. But your name quoted in the incident of your everyday slavery supplies no less significant a chapter in the analysis of social disinheritance. Perhaps the tyranny is remote and affects another. Then your fire is not kindled. But you flush hot when you are hit. Or when your near friend is hit. But why is not every man yourself? Why is not every man your friend? Turner is not in jail there on Ellis Island. The government is in jail. The people who want that sort of government are in jail. For no free man is ever in really in jail. And no tyrant is ever really out of jail.—Horace Traubel.

At a banquet of contractors and builders at the Chicago Auditorium hotel last week, an eminent advocate of the rights of man, yclept William D. O'Brien, refused to toast the American flag. He was indignant at the interferences with natural rights under its folds, by—the army in the Philippines? the navy at Panama? the carpet-baggers in Porto Rico? the secretary of commerce and labor at New York with his "letter de catchet" or "administrative" process? Bless you, no! not any of those aggressions; but by—walking delegates in the building trades! Mr. O'Brien rose loftily when he described the rights of his class. They were so sacred, in his estimation, that no contractor should be obliged to waste his time discussing them with walking delegates. This is a high note. But it is a false note. Those who sing it do not sing it true. They appeal to the doctrine of natural rights when walking delegates bother them; but they forget all about the doctrine of rights at other times. Then they descend from their high note of natural rights all the way down the scale to "vested rights," and finally to no rights at all but to mere might. Natural rights is their plea against trade unions; but "the greatest good to the greatest number" is their favorite doctrine when the "greatest good" is coming their way and they can masquerade as "the greatest number." It is concededly fair to hold trade unions to the rule of natural right; but it is not fair to hold them to that rule without applying it universally. If the law of rights may be pleaded acceptably against the aggressions of trade unions, it must be accepted against all other aggressions, But if the law of might is allowable in justification of wars of conquest, of public utility franchises, of land monopoly, then it must be allowed to trade unions. The law of right is either universal or it is nonexistent.—*The Public.*

Mr. Plowden has written a book, "Grain or Chaff, the Autobiography of a Police Magistrate," in which he gives some interesting reflections on his position as a magistrate. We quote the following as being remarkable both for its truth and candor:

"One of these is to cultivate humility, by which I am no more than to keep constantly in mind the fact that it is nothing but accident which distinguishes me from the man I have to judge, and which determines our relative positions. Had circumstances been different our positions might have been reversed. Man for man, the prisoner standing before me is probably neither better nor worse than myself. It cannot be denied that we are all largely creatures of circumstance."

Now here Mr. Plowden is talking simple Anarchism. "Man for man the prisoner standing before me is probobly neither better nor worse than myself." Precisely so, magistrate. But by what process of reasoning do you, after this, acquit yourself of being the greater criminal in daring to judge and punish your unfortunate fellow creatures? Would it not be better to come down from your unjust position and try to alter the circumstances?—*Freedom.*

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### For New York.

An international meeting to arrange for propaganda in the English language will be held on Thursday, Jan. 7, 8 p. m., at room 7, 85 Forsyth St. Comrades interested in forming an International Group to spread the ideas of freedom among the American people are urgently invited to attend.

Committee, JAY FOX, Sec.

### For Chicago.

The twenty-fifth anniversary of *Freiheit*, the indefatigable champion of freedom, will be celebrated in Chicago Sunday, Jan. 17, 3 p. m. at 55 N. Clark St. All friends of liberty who appreciate the perseverance and vigor with which Comrade Most has been fighting for freedom are cordially invited to attend. Admission 10 cents.

# FREE SOCIETY

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ANARCHY—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.


CHICAGO, SUNDAY, JANUARY 3, 1904.

447

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.


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* * *

To anyone sending us $2 we will send FREE SOCIETY one year and Dr. Greer's "A Physician in the House" or his new work "The Wholesome Woman." Also to anyone sending us one new subscriber and $2 we will send the same. This applies to renewals as well as new subscriptions.

* * *

The delinquent subscribers in New York will do us a great favor by paying their subscriptions to M. Maisel, 194 E. B'way. If the number on your wrapper is less than the whole number as shown in the current issue, you are in arrears. If you have not time to spare to see Comrade Maisel, write him a postal card and he will go and get the money.

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### For Chicago.

Under the auspices of the Sociological League, a newly-formed Chicago society, W. F. Barnard will deliver a course of twelve lectures during the winter. A successor of the Philosophical Society on a somewhat different plan, this organization has taken the commodious Jefferson Hall, Fraternity Bldg., 70 Adams St., between State & Dearborn Sts., where the lectures will be given on Sunday evenings at 8 p. m. Admission 10 cents.

Jan. 3—"Woman in Freedom."

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### The Linotype Fund.

At the time of this report, Monday, Dec. 21, the linotype fund stands thus:

PLEDGES.

At last report.....$ 125.00

PAID CASH.

Previously reported.....$ 144.50

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Overthrowing society means an inverted pyramid getting straight.—James Hinton.

### Parry and Thrust.

Love knows no boundaries.

* * *

Patriotism stinks of enmity.

* * *

The logic of the State is force.

* * *

The tellers of truth go hungry.

* * *

Government is social tuberculosis.

* * *

A judge should not try to keep a diary.

* * *

Freedom of speech contains all freedoms.

* * *

Municipal ownership is municipal exploitation.

* * *

The virtue of obedience is very popular among governors.

* * *

Senator Smoot must learn that Mammonism is superior to Mormonism.

* * *

A Chicago alderman has been sentenced to prison. Now we are reformed!

* * *

The State desires to monopolize violence. Competition would hurt it.

* * *

Good government is the worst, because thru it men become resigned to paternalism.

* * *

The prosperity which results in almost universal reduction of wages is hard to understand.

* * *

The difference between the Single Tax and Socialism is that they are two dissimilar forms of the hold-up.

* * *

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts condemns the anti-Anarchist law. Has he sobered a little since the McKinley affair?

* * *

Herbert Spencer's body was refused interment in Westminster Abbey. Westminster loses far more than Spencer does.

* * *

The value of resisting the Turner prosecution consists in the probability that people will realize the folly of constitution worship.

* * *

Representatives of Mohamedanism are combining to attack the Christian churches. As the spoils which both seek are the wealth of man, both are evils.

* * *

Anarchism teaches that the means to order are spontaneous means, not forced ones; and it backs up its contention with proof that government is disorder.

* * *

Perry S. Heath, whose connection with post office loot has been clearly proved, continues to hold office as secretary of the Republican National Committee. Comment is superfluous.

* * *

The United States government now has a reciprocity treaty with Cuba, but Cubans will find no benefit in it. American trusts are taking control of Cuban industries; the rest is easy.

* * *

Anarchism fears no issue in which the practicability of its ideas is involved, whether it be in relation to means to its ends or to those ends themselves. It is a doubtful economy which can tolerate the State.

* * *

The Missouri Supreme Court has practically nullified the convictions of twenty bribers whom Circuit Attorney Folk had successfully prosecuted. The court released Butler, the very worst of the crowd, on a technicality. Such is law.

* * *

The "New Thought" which is gaining headway in America, has just enough truth in it to make its lies palatable, and therein lies its danger. It bids men rise in spite of their conditions, and then tells them that that is all there is to progress. The result is obvious.

* * *

Colorado is the scene of such tyranny and disorder that Senator Patterson has appealed to the government at Washington to investigate the situation there. The salient fact that the mine owners refuse to even *consider* the demands of labor, calls loudly for consideration.

* * *

Cats are said to have nine lives, but the lies of politicians would make the oldest of cats look like a new-born kitten. "Vote for me and you will have liberty and prosperity," is a lie so ancient that its knees knock together as it walks; yet it is constantly made to go thru its antles.

* * *

Whether Panama proves the undoing of Roosevelt or not, it has already proved the undoing of American conceit in relation to the honesty and honor of American government. It is now generally admitted that we stand among the tiger nations of the earth, and doubt is beginning to color our "spotless reputation."

* * *

*Lucifer* is feeling the beneficient hand of government laid heavily upon its shoulder; one of its recent editions having been excluded from the mails, while second class rates have been taken away from it altogether. If things go on at this rate the leading function of the postoffice will soon be that of *preventing* the transmission of the mails.

* * *

John D. Rockefeller has again compromised with his god, as was prophesied, the consideration being $3,000,000 paid to the Chicago University. With the increased price of oil which came before the gift, the poor who use oil lamps and stoves may be content, being sure that, quoting the Bible, "Whom he loveth he chasteneth."

* * *

By inference some journals reveal the reason why wages are so wantonly reduced by the trusts. Roosevelt is to be made the scapegoat for the calamity, as Wall Street wishes his defeat, and Mark Hanna—the next presidential candidate—will be put to the front

as the genious responsible for "McKinley prosperity." Wall street is at once as astute and without principle as the love of power can make it.

* * *

A speaker before the Chicago Architectural Club, which was dining in a fashionable restaurant, recently said that "trades unionism is Anarchy" and condemned it. When trades unionism discovers that it is Anarchy, tho not in the sense of this speaker's words, architects and builders may learn the important lesson that men are not like mere brick, iron and stone, to be bought and paid for. AMERICUS.

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### "Lucifer" Under the Ban.

Our contemporary, "*Lucifer*," which lately has been annoyed considerably by the postal authorities, is now suffering additional persecution. The issue of December 17, the first three pages of which contain a report of the John Turner meeting at Cooper Union in New York, and in the rest of whose pages are only two very short articles on the sex question, has been denied the mails, and the second-class mail matter privileges of the paper have been taken away altogether.

If the publishers of *Lucifer* are prosecuted for this issue it will be hard to find a judge or a jury who will be able to detect any obscenity in it, and only a diseased and perverted libertine could perhaps find the articles "suggestive" and "lascivious." Nevertheless, the radical press is hampered by the tyrannical whims of meddlesome and arrogant officials, who with impunity trample upon the so-called constitutional right of free speech and press. How such despotism is to be resisted so long as the "American sovereigns" look with equanimity upon the gross encroachments of government, we do not know.

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### From Many Lands.

In Paris, France, the bakers are on strike, and the police are determined to give the "strike-breakers all the support necessary." Besides, the minister of war has ordered the military bakers to be in readiness to take the strikers' places, if required. Government helpes the weak, of course.

In New York the Federated Central Union has resolved to call a mass-meeting for the purpose of protesting against the deportation of John Turner. Besides, all labor unions in the country are to be appealed to for support in the effort to secure the repeal of the anti-Auarchist act. Better late then never.

Comrade J. W. Fleming writes us from Melbourne, Australia: "We celebrated the martyrdom of the Chicago comrades on November 11, which caused quite a sensation thruout the colony, as hitherto the labor fakirs have had it all their own way. Tom Mann, the English labor leader, acted manly and spoke at our meeting in opposition to his employers, the Trades Hall Council, who have engaged him for twelve months to speak for them. There were about a thousand enthusiastic people in the meeting, which was carried on without a chairman, yet "order" prevailed. It was the first time that we had the use of the Trades Hall to advocate Anarchism, and many of the members are annoyed. The discussion which took place in the Trades Hall when we asked for its use, and Tom Mann's courageous attitude, as well as this utterance during the commemoration, viz., "what caused those men to differ from the rest of the community was but the fact that they had given greater attention to the study of social problems," have done more good for Anarchism here than scores of meetings."

The Free Speech League, of New York, had another proof that the "constitutional right of free speech" is but a farce in this country, and which depends solely upon the arrogance and whims of officials. In Paterson, N. J., some liberals arranged a mass-meeting to protest against the deportation of John Turner, and at the last moment the chief of police notified the proprietor of the hall that the meeting must not be held, Bolton Hall, Hugh Penticost, and Arthur Pleydell, three prominent men from New York, who had been invited to speak at the meeting, appealed to both the chief of police and the mayor, but without avail.

That Russia is on the verge of a revolution no one will doubt who is familiar with the Russian revolutionary press. The boldness and vigor the students and intelligent workingmen are exhibiting in the dissemination of literature and in resistance against governmental encroachments are refreshing and encouraging. And that the government is scheming a war in Asia in order to avert an insurrection by its own subjects is a fact like others in the history of tyranny and exploitation. But the horrors that the Russian youth has to endure in its endeavor to free the people from despotism are appalling. Besides the wholesale prevalence of arrests, tortures, and drugging, to obtain "confessions," hundreds are driven to insanity by solitary confinement and petty tyrannies. Here I will present only one instance of many: A young student, Nikiforoff, twenty-two years of age, soaked his clothes with kerosine and burned himself. When his heart-rending cries brought the guards to his cell they found him in the agonies of death, in which he lingered for three days. His old father tried in vain to see his dying son, but was not admitted until the boy was dead. Nikiforoff had petitioned to be released from solitary confinement and to be exiled to Siberia, instead, and when he realized that insanity would be the inevitable result in his solitude, he preferred to end his life.

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### Literature.

LIFE OF ALBERT R. PARSONS, with a brief history of the Anarchist trial, including brief sketches of the other martyrs. Second edition. Published by Lucy E. Parsons. Price, $1.25. Address: Lucy E. Parsons, 1777 N. Troy St., Chicago, Ill.

This work, which now passes into a second edition, and which is a treasured possession in the home of many a comrade, commemorates events that made the eighties years of the greatest importance, and which will not be forgotten while men have hearts to beat and heads to think.

Albert R. Parsons gave his life to the American labor movement so completely that it is well that movement should be identified with him in this book, which in presenting him show him as one with labor from the beginning to the end of his life.

The story is told in a book of 315 pages, brief sketches of the other martyrs, some of these written by their subjects, being added to this edition along with considerable other supplementary matter which the first edition did not contain.

At once a biography, an argument, and an appeal, the work will live as one of the forces which make for freedom. W. F. B.

* * *

HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Morris Hillquit. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Price, $1.50, by mail $1.67. For sale also by The Comrade Cooperative Company, 11 Union Sq., New York, N. Y.

As a history of the movement which it professes to chronicle, this work has a certain value and no doubt a very large one; as an expression of the theories of political Socialism, that unique Hegelian attempt to put the new wine of social progress into the old bottles of benevolent tyranny, it shows a measure of ingenuity quite up to expectation; as a polemic of the critical order, as a criticism of the varied means to social progress which have been tried and are still being tried, means in which the State is either ignored or antagonized, it is juvenile and amateurish to a degree.

Covering the entire period of Socialistic experiment and propaganda in this country, Hillquit gives a fairly truthful account of its earlier as well as most of its later phases; taking care to differentiate the original non-Marxian movement which has its Fourier, its Owen, and its Noyes, with a host of other leaders, from what he is pleased to call the "modern movement" in which all that is not class-conscious and economically-determined has no place. Taking the so-called "evolutionary" conception of society which Marx originated, or popularized, as his base of operations, the author professes to find the elements of progress in Socialism in this country; and the facts are interpreted in a way that leaves nothing to be desired from the point of view of the fervent disciple.

With Hillquit, as with nearly all State Socialists, society is an organism; the brilliantly-argued, tho faulty analogies of "scientific Socialism" being accepted apparently as beyond criticism. Anarchism in consequence is triumphantly disposed of in a word or two, and its advocates are set down as utopians pure and simple. What manner of judgment Hillquit has as a critic of economic and social theories and experiments is easily estimated when we find him saying that the Haymarket affair was "practically the closing chapter in the history of the Anarchist movement in this country." A man who, in view of the increasing prevalence of Anarchistic ideas in this country, a prevalence conspicuous both in general literature and public and private discussion, a man, I say, who could bring himself to utter such a thing, is, to say the most, a much better political Socialist than thinker or observer. W. F. B.

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Group authority is as much government as individual authority. B.

### Herbert Spencer.

When lightning "in the collied night, unfolds both heaven and earth," it is interesting to observe how the new light brings out as it were a sphere or system of minute objects—individual drops of rain, birds' nests hanging in the trees, stones in puddles at one's feet,—beyond, a larger sphere of illuminated objects; as steeples, chimneys, treetops, hills; then ruddy flickerings, still arranged and globed, against the background of that darkness which we know to be, in fact, full of unseen forms. There are readers to whom this reflection may recall some of Herbert Spencer's. It was suggested by the extinction of what, during the last thirty years has been considered the chief light of our age. For tho particular and practical applications of a general thought have proceeded principally from others—Darwin, Haeckel, Faraday, Lubbock, Kelvin, Lister, Lombroso, Kropotkin, etc., some of whom are with us still, there is hardly one of these whose line of investigation was not determined by Spencer in a way distinguishing them from the older schools of Comte or Buckle. The venerable Lecky, who remains a last disciple of the philosopher just named, said of his successor that that idea of development which he formulated seems absolutely to override our thoughts. Another critic has said of Spencer that development before his time was "little more than a crochet—he has made it the idea of the age."

It is the prerogative of a great thinker not to merely block out an universe from Chaos and Old Night in this way by the selection of his genius, for that any man should be able to do, and will do if he trusts it; but to impose the same selection upon great multitudes of minds. A dangerous honor! for most of these will forget the difference between the lightning and the sun, and call their momentary glimpse of a few things infinity and eternity, at least until another flash surprises them. A responsible gift too, for it is these fulminations of individual mind which dazzle the blind multitude, causing them to walk in darkness like their fathers. And in this they have usually the great thinker's example so far, that he too took what he saw for all there was to see. Electricity discharges itself on surfaces. It is creeping touch which discovers substance and knows fully whither it goes. But anything is better than undisturbed darkness; and the latest bolt is in the habit of falling about when the eye becomes prepared to receive its light again. Such a period Herbert Spencer recognized at the outset of his systematic work.

His method was in the main inductive. His prodigious influence on the theory of Development consisted chiefly in dismissing teleological conceptions and that vagueness of statement which belongs to them. Since the very beginnings of pantheistic speculation, that is as long since as Thales or as Menu, the notion has been familiar to philosophers that change in a definite direction was the law of existence itself, neither requiring, nor without grave qualification admitting the "anthropomorphic" doctrine of cosmical creation or government by intelligence and will. A series of such writers as Buffon, Monboddo, and Lamark, of whom the last was aided greatly by the amazing revelations of geology, had suspected the evanescence of organic types and anticipated the "Origin of Species" in important points, particularly that one felt to be most commonly interesting. For individual organisms, the German embryologists, on whose data modern classification is founded, had laid down the law of evolution in words differing little from Herbert Spencer's. Goethe, by certain profound observations, such as the discovery, in the human foetus, of the intermaxillary bone, had given the mutation of species a definite basis previously unsuspected. About the time Spencer began his "Synthetic Philosophy," the Spectrum Analysis raised above hypothesis the nebular theories of Laplace, with which is identified the law of evolution in inorganic matter. Before this, the most popular (and decried) exposition of earlier evolutionism, the "Vestiges of Creation," had attempted combination of particular discoveries, with their moral, into a system. But over such larger generalizations teleology hung like the net of the retiarius about a gladiator. If a "spontaneous tendency to improvement" exists, why are the lowest organic forms as plentiful as they were in the Laurentian age? or why are there still vast nebulae in the gaseous state? By questions like these, Hugh Miller was thought to have disposed of Chambers as effectually as Hamilton of Spurzheim. Rejecting, for impertinent, all such reference to our convenience as the term "improvement" might imply, Herbert Spencer took up the law of evolution nearly where Goethe left it. The law is fundamentally this, that change proceeds from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. In his "First Principles" he argued that, except in simple evolutions, which for reasons there shown, can happen only locally and on a small scale, it is a corollary from the law of universal attraction. The same work proceeded to establish the ulterior consequences. A change from homogeneous to heterogeneous must also be from indefinite to definite. The specialization of parts, with corresponding specialization of activities, so conspicuous in organic evolution, is proved to follow from attraction, in inorganic nature. Exceptions, other than simple evolutions, are made to prove the rule. Relics of primordial vapor—comets, or nebulae,—remain e. g. near the poles of systems, because those are nodes of that rotation which differentiates strata of the matter. In the "Principles of Biology" the more intricate development of organisms is resolved into its causal tendencies, direct adaptation to environment (Lamark's old observation), indirect adaptation (natural selection), sexual selection, and heredity. In the "Principles of Psychology," it was shown how the nervous system, as the distributor of the internal force in an organism modelled by contact with environment, must and does share its evolution. In the "Principles of Sociology," and of "Morality," we were long promised, and at last given, elaborate demonstration how customs must be and are determined in like manner by like causes. The similarity of plan in every part of this enormous scheme, the prudence with which it is worked out so far as necessary and no further, and the solidity of the basis on which all is made to rest, are the secrets of Spencer's prodigious influence. Darwin's law of the origin of species, pushed by induction into novelties of detail, differs widely enough from Spencer's outline anticipation of the same. But Darwin began by acknowledging his great obligations to Spencer. The four causes of mutation ennumerated by Spencer must, as he had shown, be operative, tho Darwin proved that one of them on which Lamark laid stress to have little actual importance. Thus it was Spencer, who, outstepping metaphysical and teleological conceptions of organic progress, broke ground in those directions which have led to so much. Darwin is presupposed by Haeckel and Lombroso. Haeckel completes emancipation from dogmatic traditions of creation, therefore of a Fall, a redemption, a regeneration, and a hopeless lapse, with all the powers they gave to priestcraft. Lombroso lays the axe to the very root of that supposed necessity for restraints and penal law which is the practical basis of government. Similarly, Lubbock long anticipated Spencer in working out the development of so-called civilizations, and destroying superstitious veneration for them: and the "Origin of Civilization" is a better book than what corresponds to it in the "Principles of Sociology." But Spencer gave him the determining idea of his project. Lord Kelvin (he has gone by that title so long now that he must bear its discredit; or I should much prefer to call him Thomson still) is one of the most positive in method among modern scientists, as well as one of the boldest in conjectures to be tested by experiment; he has done more to elucidate molar physics than any man since Laplace, and more for molecular than any since Faraday. It is impossible not to recognize the influence of evolution, and therefore of Spencer upon his thought. Those vast advances in medical and physiological knowledge associated with Bacteriology are among the chief triumphs of recent science, not only on account of their utility, but because they admit such very positive demonstration. On these, as in the origin of species, Spencer hardly showed great personal strength. His pet hypothesis about almost everything mysterious, antitoxin, e. g., nerve force, electricity—ran in the line of isomerism and "molecular changes," which is out of date; but in the work of such men as Pasteur, Lister, Koch, who made it so, we quickly recognize the Spencerian idea of reaction and balance between competing species,—the microorganisms vital functions, like the larger organism's, invite enemies which devour, or engender toxins which neutralize it: there must be also a certain affinity between the parasites' specific sensibility to certain poisons and the "host's" immunity. The progress of histology in general, but especially of neurology, since the "Principles of Psychology" appeared, has been almost wholly determined by the ideas of this book.

So vast—at first sight it appears boundless—is the scope of Spencer's great generalization.

> "O tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen
> "Qui primis potuisti!"

But the end is not yet, Reaction, if not exactly against Spencer's doctrines, at least against special applications, is among

causes contributing to scientific progress, even before his death. Kropotkin, as much as Lombroso, presupposes Darwin, and in his positing of mutual aid among members of a species for the neglected other side of that shield whose side representing the struggle for existence had been shown so much, we begin to perceive that the radiance of Spencer's light has limits. When one of his alleged disciples informs us that stars contend for space; another that their development is determined by selection; a third that the principle of Katabolism leads us to the dissolution of a previous organism (called Ymin?) which must have been more chemically complex than any now existing (!); not to mention such smatterings as that Evolution requires benevolent assimilation of Boers by John Bull and Filipinos by United States; that evolution gave rise to all social arrangements, for which reason it is impious to disturb them; * that we need give ourselves no trouble serving our generation, because Evolution attends to that; that Evolution is "entirely unethical" and morals consequently unscientific—why then, it becomes tolerably evident that the shoulders of Evolution, broad as they are, can be overloaded. Herbert Spencer undoubtedly believed the law of Evolution to exhaust the Knowable; but with all this before us, we can scarcely believe it.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be concluded next week-)

* In the "Principles of Morals," wnich he confessed to be a somewhat disappointing part of his work, Spencer himself did not come far short of this. After vindicating. by the usual arguments, the general theory of Hedonism, he dissents from common utilitarian casuistry on the ground that the "Inductions of Expediency" are too valuable for exceptions—a curious view of inductive reasoning!

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### The Propaganda Again.

The occurrence of the word "supervise" in my article in No. 44 of FREE SOCIETY seems to have sounded hard on the ear of Comrade Veroqua Daniels, and caused her to utterly misunderstand me. What I endeavored to emphasize was the Anarchist principle as applied to the propaganda. I tried to show that the ends we seek would be best served by a closer adhesion in our practise to the theories we preach; that it is inconsistent, if not ridiculous, for communists to uphold and encourage private property, and that the continuance of such a practise is working a positive injury to the cause by keeping many from participating in the propaganda because of personal antipathy toward the "party in power." I was not discussing the question of whether Comrade Isaak could be trusted with a linotype, or whether there should be a group to supervise his work. I am quite well aware, as Comrade Daniels says, that anyone who does not think him trustworthy is not going to "put up." And that is just the trouble; for, assuming there be some such people, why should the movement be deprived of their support, and why should they not be given an opportunity to subscribe to a group that has their confidence? Here we have one of the strongest arguments in favor of a group as against individual management. I won't take the space to develop this phase of the question here; let the reader supply the vacancy while I pass on to a consideration of the "supervision" phase that scared Comrade Daniels.

Let us suppose that a group of Anarchists have been drawn together by a mutual desire to spread their ideas by the publication of a weekly paper. After they have secured the necessary means, they find an editor must be had who will devote his whole time to the paper. How is he to be selected and upon what conditions is he going to serve after being selected? Suppose Jones to be the unanimous choice, would the group elect him for life and put the business and property in his name with full power to do as he sees fit? Not at all! Such a proposition would be ridiculous. Wouldn't the group be more likely to say to him: "Jones, in appointing you editor we do not abrogate our control of such property as may be in possession of this group. We will not exercise a censorship over what you may write or publish, but we retain the right to remove you upon due notice whenever for any reason you fail to give the desired satisfaction, or whenever we shall have secured the services of someone else who, in our judgment, is better qualified to fill the position you now hold."

Now I fancy that, with the limited opportunities which the present society affords, some such "supervision" as the latter proposition suggests, would be necessary. Whatever our ideals may be as to the conduct of a similar enterprise in a free society is quite another thing. The central idea of my former article is that a more concentrated effort be made to get our ideas before the public. And as literature is the great weapon for the destruction of the monster of ignorance, it is the opinion of many that a group should be formed to promote the publication and distribution of literature. It is thought that by such a plan very many who are now inactive would be induced to take more interest in the movement; there being a lot of pessimists, so-called, who from want of a more coherent effort on the part of others neglect the propaganda altogether.

Comrade Daniels seems to think that as a reward for the poverty the Isaak family has endured in the past it is now fully entitled to all the comfort and luxury it is imagined a linotype will bring; for she says: "Suppose those who have been lying back in their easy chairs had been paying the working comrades the market price, even, for the time and overtime they have put in, who doubts that they might buy themselves a linotype and continue the good work in their own way. * * * Hasn't the group earned it by unstinted sweat?"

There is not the least doubt but that the Isaak family has earned the price of a linotype and a great deal more, and is fully entitled to all the consideration that can be shown to it. But Comrade Daniels should know that the Anarchist movement is no bed of roses; that it has no fat sinecures to serve out to the "faithful," that every man or woman who wishes to serve the cause of liberty must expect to suffer hunger, abuse, imprisonment, and all the tortures tyranny has invented, and that not all the wealth of the Rockefellers would be adequate recompence, "even at the market price," for all the work which has already been done for Anarchy. The man or woman who is not ready to suffer for the cause of liberty is unworthy of the blessings which liberty bestows.

Speaking of the linotype, I wish to say at once that I am going to discuss it apart from any connection the subject may have to Comrade Isaak. If it is proposed to purchase a linotype for him I will have nothing to say. On the other hand, if it is intended the movement shall have one I am going to add my views on the subject.

I believe the price of a machine is $3,250, which is a very large capital for poor Anarchists to attempt to raise and invest for the mere setting up of a little eight page weekly, the work of about a day on the machine. And the proposition seems especially funny when we reflect that frequently we are so poor the paper has to be cut down to four pages; still nobody seems to see the joke. If we were publishing a daily paper the idea would be commendable; for then the machine would be kept constantly in use. But will it pay to invest $3,250 in a machine and have it stand idle about five-sixths of the time?

True, Comrade Isaak says he would take in work from the outside. Yes, if he could get it. He will find any number of men in Chicago with complete printing plants, Webb and cylinder presses, linotypes, etc., favorably located, and possessing the experience and business connections requisite to the publishing, who also "take in work"; and he will find, when he goes "up against them," that these men will be more than a match for him. Once in a while when some radical friend writes a book or pamphlet thru sympathy it might get into the hands of the Anarchist lynotypists, but I see no hope for them to compete with the old established houses who know the business so well, and how to get it.

JAY FOX.

57 E. 99th St., New York.

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H. COMAROW.

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